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Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi.

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare.

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ǂasi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons';

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sṅ²gnasi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name ²*Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kū*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name ²*Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */K3*. The /K3 are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral /||), the /K3 language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ʘ. The phrase *ju /ǂasi* has nothing to do with the /K3.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dʒu/ǂāːsi* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khû, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /nwasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju /ǂasi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ǂasi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */koma*?),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ǂasi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ǂasi*

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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*dī*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect, 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
619 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the
621 /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /K[illegible]ng from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name relationship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would ' sound as though ' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two categories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "land-
[685] owner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

[721] If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

726 There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

622 Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

● 619 /155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending on the circumstances.

631 The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

• 619 628 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between members of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and 628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 134 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the [136] [164] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa- 648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in- [578] [619] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for [464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms. [177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of [439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

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method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. ' Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, ' so you are Gao's */gu/na* ', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region. Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few
182 small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) ' siblings ' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 [13] The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kung	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the ǂ*Ao-||ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big ǂ*Ao-||ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/hei*s) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies */norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relationship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /õassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */õassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312
619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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•619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu||en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *||Kau ||en*, called *ǂaukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *ǂausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khũ* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Papst, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAuin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–41.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der *||Kun*-Buschmänner," *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–15; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the */Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kũ*, "red people," or *!o !kũ*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 197 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohckwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

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In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—*BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

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619 197 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populaçoes indigénas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *ǂganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

621 /gom or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or
101 scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the
[114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes".
● 619 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members
101 of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the
[177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social
[197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the
[623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In
[622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kun-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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166 361 621 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy [221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

361 619 621 On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons [622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.
[3] Op. cit., 7, 8. [4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1]

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud.

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

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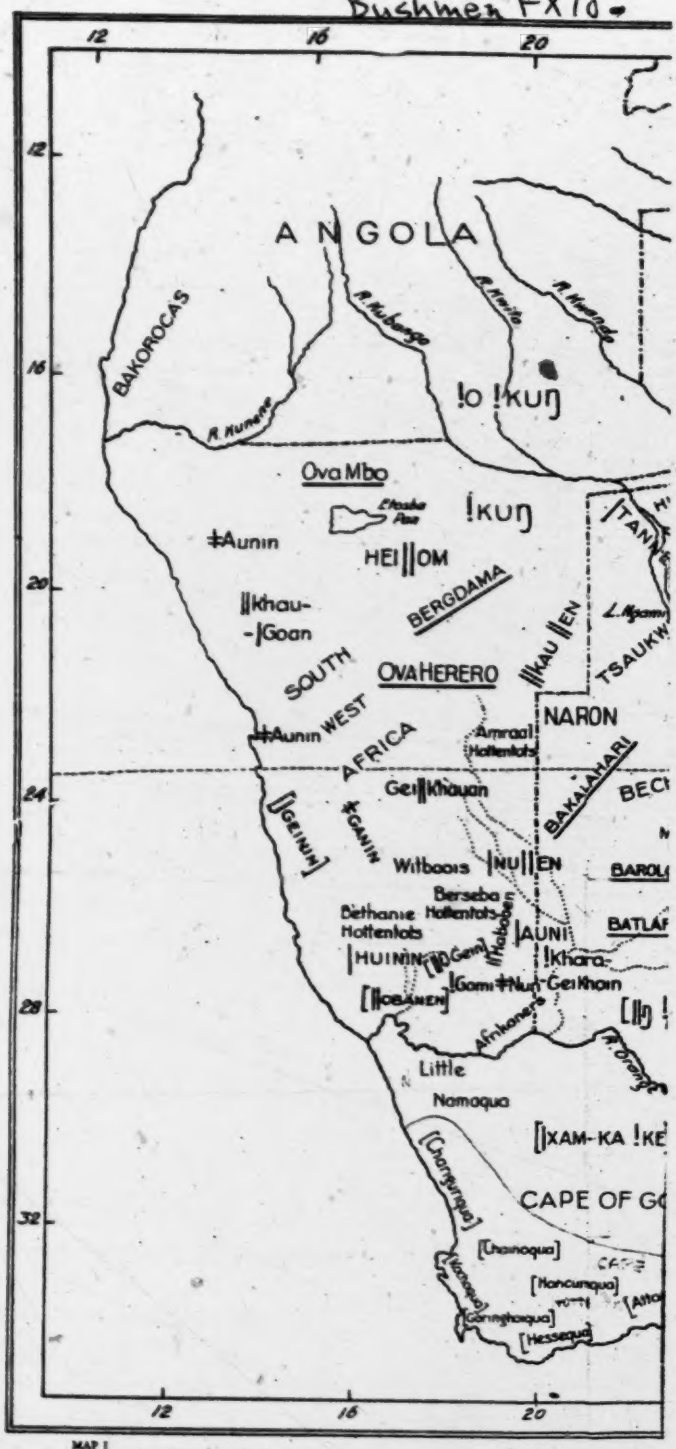

[facing p. 446 (a)]

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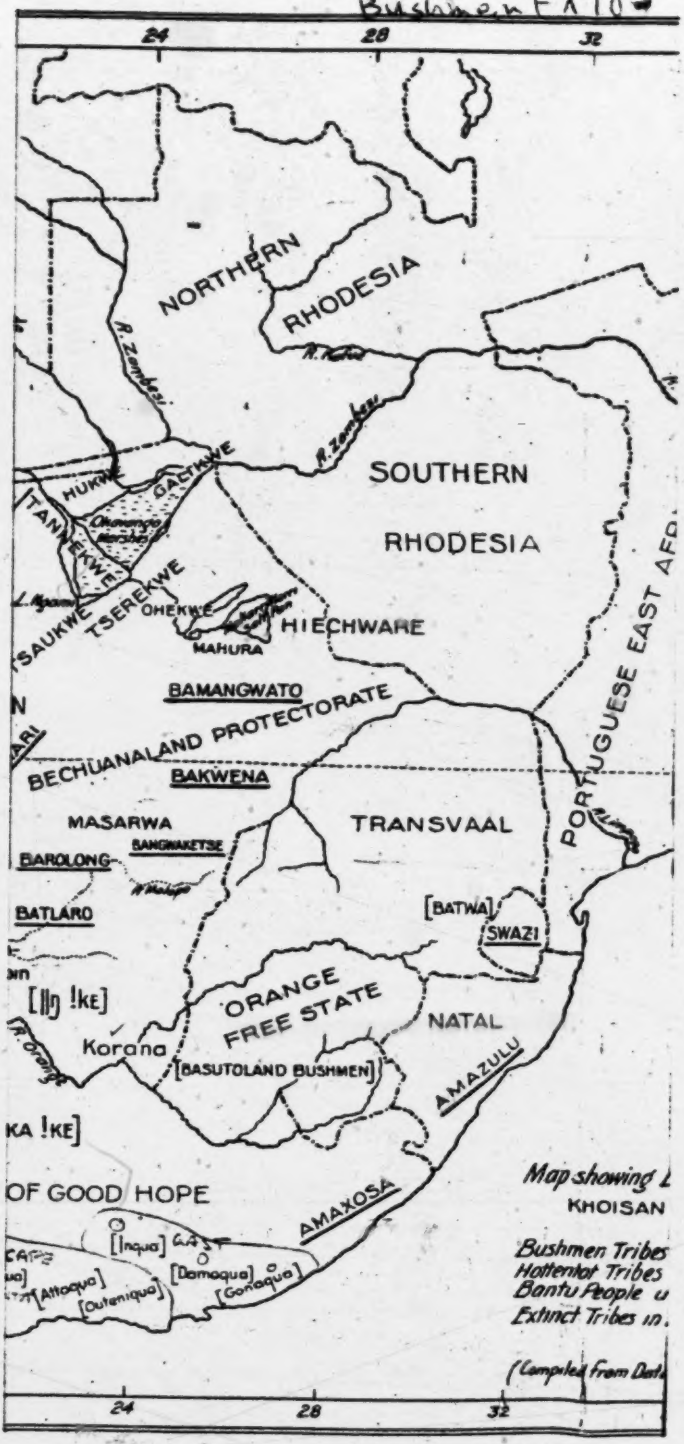

[facing p. 446 (4)]

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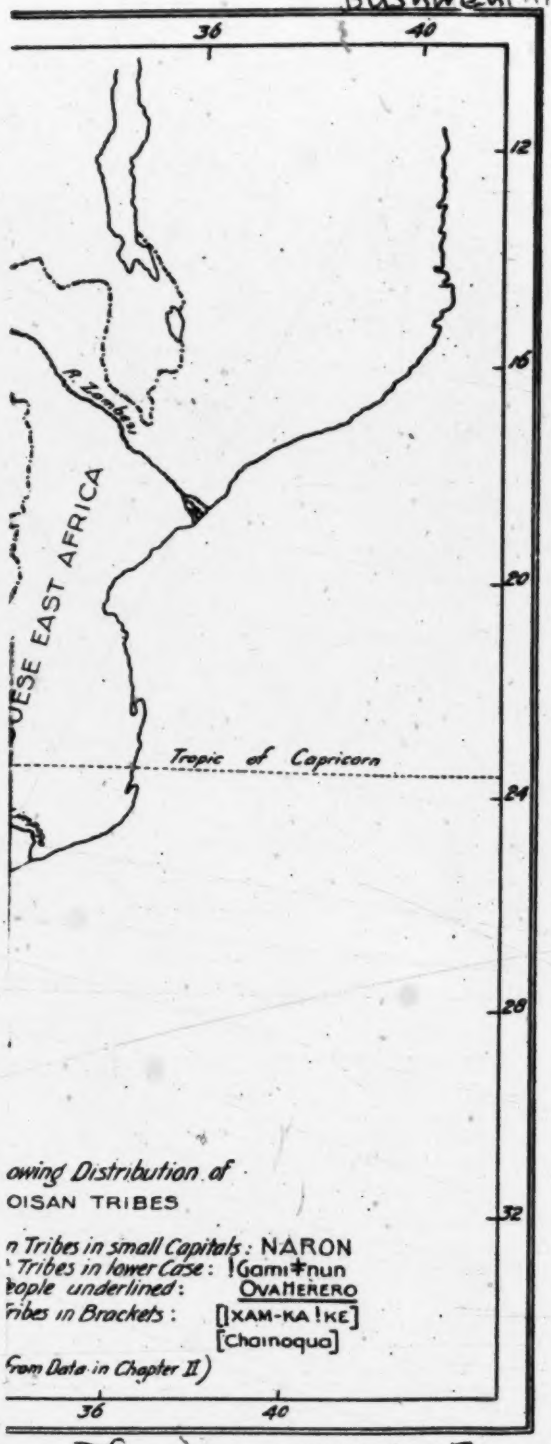

[facing p. 446 (c)]